

Some Suggestions for Reading

Lesson One :

Teachings of Karl Marx : Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism	Lenin
Communist Manifesto	Marx
Notes of a Delegate; Class and Party ..	Jos. Stalin
What Is To Be Done?	Lenin
Changing Britain	Cadbury Bros.
Iron Heel	Jack London
Living in Cities	Penguin
The Town Labourer	J. L. & B. Hammond
The Village Labourer	J. L. & B. Hammond
A People's History of England	J. B. Morton
History of Trades Unionism	S. & B. Webb
Man Makes Himself (Thinker's Library)	Prof. G. Childe
What Happened in History (Pelican Lib.)	Prof. G. Childe
Origin of the Family	Engels

Lesson Two :

What is Marxism?	Emile Burns
Wage, Labour and Capital	Marx
Value, Price and Profit	Marx
Economics of Capitalism	M. Dobb
Marx as an Economist	M. Dobb

Lesson Three :

Jobs, Homes and Security	Emile Burns
Some Questions Answered	Harry Pollitt
We Are Many	Ted Bramley
Communism : An Outline	R. W. Robson
Soviet Communism : A New Civilisation	S. & B. Webb
Russia's Secret Weapon	Carter
Looking Backward	Ed. Bellamy
News from Nowhere	Wm. Morris
Dream of John Ball	Wm. Morris

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A three lesson syllabus

Essentials of COMMUNIST THEORY

by R. W. Robson

SIXPENCE

INTRODUCTION

The object of this course is to set out for discussion some of the fundamentals upon which our Party bases its policy. It is therefore particularly suitable for new and recently-joined members; but precisely because it deals with fundamentals which can be discussed at many levels with progressively deepening understanding, it can be useful at all stages of branch and group education.

It has not been cast into the form of questions and answers, since the questions raised in it will need to be brought out differently by each tutor in accordance with the needs and level of the group he is leading. It is suggested, however, that tutors should, in the main use the method of controlled discussion; that is, that they should try, by means of carefully prepared questions, to draw out from the class a knowledge and understanding of the ground covered by the course.

There are also other methods which give good results. For instance, each member of the class could be asked to prepare an illustration or explanation of something discussed, *e.g.*, in Lesson I, an illustration of growth and development leading up to qualitative change—or an example of the working class joining in the fight for democratic rights. Or each comrade could be given a question and asked to submit the answer for criticism and comment by the class at its next meeting. This stimulates the students to take an active part in the class, and to consult books in order to find the answers to their questions. Questions can also be taken in the form of a debate, *e.g.*, the arguments for and against affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party could be brought out in this way in Session I: or, in connection with Session II, an employer could argue with a

- 1832.—Reform of Parliament (five-sixths of male population still unfranchised).
- 1844.—Co-operative Society formed.
- 1860.—Formation London Trades Council.
- 1883.—Fabian Society formed.
- 1884.—Social Democratic Federation formed.
- 1892.—*Clarion* newspaper established.
- 1893.—Formation of I.L.P.
- 1900.—Labour Representation Committee established by T.U.C.
- 1903.—Workers' Educational Association formed.
- 1906.—Formation of Labour Party. Election of 29 Labour Members of Parliament.
- 1920.—Formation of the Communist Party.

Some Noteworthy Dates

- 1649.—Establishment of Commonwealth Republic in England, under Cromwell.
- 1688.—Establishment of a "limited monarchy" (powers of Crown limited by Parliament) in Britain. William and Mary placed on throne by decision of Parliament.
- 1715 and 1745.—Rebellions aiming at re-establishing absolute power of monarchy and authority of feudal elements and restoring throne to Stuarts.
- 1783.—Independence of American Colonies recognised.
- 1789.—French Revolution—"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."
- 1832.—Reform of Parliament. (Rotten boroughs abolished, industrial capitalists given share in control of Parliament)
- 1846.—Repeal of Corn Laws.
- 1847.—Ten-Hour Act.
- 1867.—Second Reform of Parliament.
- 1871.—Paris Commune.
- 1885.—Franchise Act. Section of workers get vote.
- 1888.—Local Government Act. Establishing Borough and County Councils.
- 1917.—Russian Revolution.

Value : Use-value—satisfies a human want or need. Exchange-value—or value, is given to a commodity by the labour spent in producing it. Can only be expressed in comparison with the value of another commodity.

Socially Necessary Labour : The average amount of labour required for the production of a certain thing at any particular stage in the development of society.

Capital : Wealth used for the production of surplus value.

Surplus Value : That part of the value created by Labour that is not returned to the producer, i.e., in the form of wages, but appropriated by the capitalist for profit.

Constant Capital : Factory buildings, machinery, raw material, fuel used in production (buys dead labour).

Variable Capital : Wages. (Buys living labour.)

Labour : The creator of value—human energy expended in production.

Labour-Power : The only commodity owned by the wage-worker and sold to the capitalist.

Wages : The price of Labour-Power.

Dates in British Working-class History

1764.—Spinning Jenny invented—Power Loom developed.

1780's.—Water power of Pennines harnessed to hundreds of Lancashire factories.

1785.—Steam power first used for machinery.

1800.—Combination Laws passed (against trade unions). From this date to 1820's policy of "policing the poor" operated. Military barracks throughout country; yeomanry formed for use against meetings, strikers, etc.

1824.—Combination Laws repealed.

1829.—English, Scottish and Irish Textile Unions agreed to form the Grand General Union of the United Kingdom, on initiative of John Doherty, a Lancashire T.U. leader.

1830.—National Association for the Protection of Labour formed, with Doherty as Secretary.

1830.—Grand National Consolidated Trade Union formed by Owen's inspiration.

worker that he was giving him a fair deal. Again, some students feel that they consolidate their knowledge by putting it in written form, either as a summary of the class or as an answer to a question set by the tutor, and they should always be given the opportunity to do this.

Methods will, of course, vary from class to class with the level of political understanding, experience, and general knowledge of the students, and with the kind of approach which the tutor finds comes most easily to him.

We suggest on the next page a number of questions which will be found helpful in drawing out the implications of the lessons. Tutors will, of course, select those suitable for the particular class they are taking, and will no doubt add many more of their own.

Nan Brewer,

(Education Department).

QUESTIONS

LESSON I

1. What are the aims of the Conservatives? How do they try to achieve them?
2. On what do the Liberal and Conservative Parties agree?
3. What should our attitude be towards people who take no interest in politics?
4. Can an M.P. be really independent? i.e., outside the control of one of the main Parties?
5. What is the Labour Movement? What is the function of the various sections—Trade Unions, Co-ops, Labour Party, Y.C.L., Communist Party?
6. Can a Communist be a member of the Labour Party?
7. Is Socialism inevitable?
8. Can man control his destiny?
9. Why can the problems of unemployment, raising the standard of living, giving equal opportunities for all, and abolition of war, only be completely solved by Socialism?
10. Give examples from history of changes in society following upon changes in the mode of production.
11. Why do Communists support reforms?
12. Has the working class any interest in defending democracy?

LESSON II

1. What is capital? Is, for instance, a factory, a farm, a mine, a railroad, capital?
2. How is profit made in capitalist society?
3. What is the difference between labour power and labour?
4. Could Socialism have been introduced by a slave revolt? By peasants in the middle ages?
5. What is meant by the contradiction between social production and individual appropriation?
6. What causes slumps in trade? Can production be planned to avoid slumps under Capitalism?
7. Why did Lenin call Imperialism "the highest stage of Capitalism," but also, "the eve of the proletarian revolution"?

LESSON III

1. Is "private enterprise" bolder or more efficient than socialist enterprise? (Compare Soviet achievements with Boulder Dam in Tennessee Valley; Hydro-Electric Station in Highlands, etc.)
2. In what respects will Socialist Britain use science more effectively than Capitalist Britain?
3. What cultural benefits will Socialism bring to the people?
4. What becomes of "the incentive to work" under Socialism?
5. How could a socialist Britain help the colonial peoples?
6. What do we mean by revolution? What is the difference between the socialist revolution and all preceding ones?
7. Will Socialism mean the breaking up of family life?
8. What is the attitude of a socialist state to religion?
9. What is the difference between socialist and capitalist planning?

State : An instrument of class rule in the interests of the ruling class, consisting of state apparatus—armed forces, police, law courts, etc., etc.

Public Ownership : A popular way of expressing "Nationalisation" which, in so far as it gets rid of the exploitation of the worker by private interests (capitalists), and gives the people, through democratic machinery, control over the State resources, is a step towards Socialism.

Capitalism : A form of society organised to enable and assist individuals and groups of individuals personally to own and control the means of producing wealth and of exchanging goods produced, for the purpose of enriching themselves. It is argued that the motive of private gain is necessary as a spur to effort or a reward of success. Socialism puts public welfare, the interests of those who work, first—hence the term SOCIAL-ism.

Atlantic Charter : August, 1941. Drawn up by Churchill and Roosevelt, and afterwards endorsed by Soviet Union. Free choice of system of government by peoples; free access to sources of raw materials for all countries; international security for all peoples, etc.

Socialism : A form of society based on production in which the motive of private ownership of capital has given place to production for use. A more efficient system of production than capitalism.

Communism : A development from Socialism due to production having reached a level enabling society to provide fully and freely for the needs of all, with a change in peoples' outlook brought about by living in a socialist society.

Terms used in Economics

Money : The medium of exchange; the method of measuring exchange value; also the form through which capital is built up.

Commodity : A product of labour with a use-value, produced for sale.

Price : The amount of money for which commodities are bought and sold; it may be a little more or a little less than the value of the commodity.

Reformism : A policy of reforms within the existing structure of society, leaving things essentially as they are.

Compromise : A temporary expedient accepted as necessary because of strength of circumstances.

Opportunism : The placing of the welfare of an individual or a section before that of the whole class.

Soviet : A Russian word meaning Council. The Russian revolution was carried through by Workers' and Peasants' Soviets.

Revolution : A change of control of state power from one class to another.

Bourgeoisie : A townsman. From the fact that the early merchants and craftsmen lived within the towers and walls of towns. The capitalist class are called the bourgeoisie.

Proletariat : Those Romans so impoverished that they only contributed their children to the welfare of the Roman State. Used to mean modern workers who own no capital.

Peasant : In feudal times tied to the land which he cultivated and having either to give a certain number of days' work to the landowner or pay rent; an independent cultivator of the soil who lives on what he produces. There are rich and poor peasants; oppression and poverty creates a section of landless peasants. (Spain, Hungary, etc.)

Feudal System : A system of society in which ownership of the land by an aristocracy which rules the country undemocratically is the method of government. There are landowners, and their peasant and personal followers, and townsmen. The king is the chief of the feudal nobility.

Capitalist : One who uses ownership of money or means of production for the purpose of exploiting labour for profit.

Society : A social system organised according to the mode of production upon which it is based.

Democracy : Generally used as meaning a system of government in class society, in which certain legal rights are established for individuals and organisations, and in which the right to participate in the election of the legislative bodies, nationally and locally, exists among a larger or smaller proportion of the population.

Essentials of Communist Theory

by R. W. Robson

LESSON I

Working-class Politics

Politics deals with the activities by which particular sections of society endeavour to advance their interests against the interests of other sections. Broadly speaking these interests are class interests.

A class or section of a class (e.g., landlords as a section of the capitalist class, whose interests are served by the Conservative Party; or makers and exporters of cotton goods who formerly found their interests best served by the Liberals) can only express its aspirations and policy through the medium of a **political party**.

Political parties are composed of the most class-conscious, intelligent, energetic people belonging to the class they represent.

Liberals and Conservatives have always argued against this (Marxist) view of politics, and attempted to maintain the pretence that they represent **all** classes.

In fact these two parties are capitalist parties, and reflect the interests of the main groups of capitalists in this country.

The Labour Party is the Party which in Britain has grown up in the struggle of the working class to create a political organisation which can generally represent their interests. It was built upon the Trade Unions, each representing the standpoint of a particular craft or section of workers. From its formation, middle-class socialist groups, small and sectarian, have been affiliated to it also, but it needs a strong Socialist body within it, which sees things from the standpoint of **all** working people. This is the Communist Party, which aims at unity of all sections of the working class, and is the clearest conscious expression of the interests of the working class, by reason of its scientific socialist principles.

The vital importance of political activity is seen from the foregoing. The working class not only needs Trade Unions to enable particular working conditions to be improved and defended against the employers, not only needs the Co-operative Societies as a means of countering the grip of the huge millionaire private stores; it must have a POLITICAL PARTY OF ITS OWN to express its interests in the state, to organise and fight for those policies which will strengthen the position of the working class as well as improve its living standards.

Marx and his colleague and friend Engels were the first workers' leaders to understand the need for a political party of this kind, and their teachings and activities are the foundation of the modern working-class movement.

Marx not only hated the poverty and misery which capitalism brought to the working people, but he saw that A NEW CLASS WAS RAPIDLY GROWING INTO A GREAT FORCE—the industrial working class; that this new class, the PROLETARIAT or "propertyless" class, was destined to CHANGE THE EXISTING SYSTEM of private ownership into Socialism, a higher and more efficient social order.

The Party of the Working Class stands for a change from the present to a new and socialist order of society because the working class cannot finally solve its fundamental problems until Socialism is established. (Full employment, high standard of life, education, equal opportunities for all, abolition of war, etc., etc.)

This is why the working class will and must carry its struggle for betterment forward to the establishment of Socialism. This struggle is shortened and made easier by the organised activity of the Communist Party which is guided by the principles of scientific Socialism propounded by Marx.

Marx saw everything in nature, including the development of social institutions, as a process of growth and development, of change and decline giving place to new and improved systems, of sudden complete alterations of things as they had been. He showed that in human society the struggle against nature by primitive man and between the classes in later ages is the means of progress and improvement.

Marx showed that the historic causes of all changes in human affairs are the changes in the means whereby men live; changes and developments in the mode of production within a given

life; it is an important means of educating people readily to appreciate our viewpoint and our socialist aims.

Communists also defend the general welfare of the people, their individual and collective rights under existing democratic conditions. Lenin long ago made this clear. ("What is to be Done?"; "One Step Forward.")

If our relations with other peoples will be improved by the achievement of Socialism, it is clear that Socialist Britain could make no claim to "rights" over the lands and destinies of the peoples in the existing colonies of the British Empire.

Socialist Britain would endeavour to make amends for the harm done to colonial peoples in the past by the British ruling class by accepting responsibility to help them in freely developing their own way of life, independently of control or interference from Britain..

Finally, Socialism will give the British people the means of putting into practice the ideal of the brotherhood of man, not only in home affairs, but also in the realm of relations with other countries.

The profit motive is the main cause of war; the greed of the few goes beyond the boundaries of exploiting their own working class and reaches out to seize and exploit other lands. Rival capitalist Powers have made war a feature of modern history; a socialist state has no interest in plundering other peoples.

Socialist Britain will be able to contribute powerfully to those forces in the world which desire international peace and the brotherhood and harmony of nations. It will contribute to the forces for progress, for building up a better life internationally; for creating a better world for all.

Some Important Political Terms Explained

A certain amount of discussion around these explanations will usually be helpful to complete clarity.

Class: A section of society whose members have the same way of getting their living, and therefore have the same economic interests.

Reforms: Changes, improvements, carried out within the existing framework of society.

production of goods enriches *all* it will be in the interests of *all* to see that production is kept at the highest level possible.

Our relations with other peoples will also be put on a much better footing under a socialist system. Our country needs certain goods which can only be obtained from other lands. These, in turn, can be paid for by goods which Britain can most easily or efficiently produce. (Note terms of Atlantic Charter; also previous remarks about science and coal, for instance.) The good will towards each other of the common people has been heightened by the experience of the struggle against Fascism in the war. (U.S.A., France, Yugoslavia, etc.) Socialist Britain will have close ties with all peoples, **especially with those of the great Socialist Soviet Union.** Mutual help and co-operation between the peoples will be made real and effective as never before in history.

Socialism by the Will of the People

Communists have always urged that Socialism must become the aim of the majority of the people before it can be realised. They have endeavoured to win the working class, through its organisations, for socialist ideas and actions to bring their fulfilment nearer.

This is because it is a first principle of Communism that Socialist economy can only be built out of the enthusiasm and willingness of the millions-strong working class; the class which owns no capital and yet is the life force in all industrial productivity which keeps the country going. This class cannot become a huge aggregation of individual capitalists. To obtain freedom to use the industrial apparatus of the country it must do so collectively, through the medium of the State, in the name and on behalf of all.

Hence Communists work to win the great working-class organisations to their socialist views. The stronger and more efficient these bodies, the clearer their understanding of socialist ideas, the better for our common cause.

The Communist Party fully recognises the value of electoral activity as a means of securing improved conditions and amenities in the localities and nationally. Such activity has become an established form of British democratic activity and

social order. For instance: the English Civil War of 1640 was due to the struggle of the new capitalist class to limit the state power of the representatives of the feudal order, the Stuart kings. This new class had been developing for generations within the framework of feudal society.

Against the feudal absolutism of the Stuarts it had to fight on economic issues, i.e., for freedom to buy and sell, to enter into contracts, for the unimpeded development of capitalism, and the free investment of capital. These issues were obscured by the accompanying demand for religious freedom and for parliamentary government that could secure popular liberties, but the primary issues were the economic ones. Later the bourgeoisie became so afraid of the people, who were demanding rights going much further than was comfortable for them, that they compromised with the landed gentry and agreed to the restoration of a tame Charles II in 1660. By 1688 the form of the old government, with the economic power of the monarchy (monopolies, royal control of industry, etc.) was gone for ever, and the bourgeoisie, represented by Parliament, was in charge. The Revolution of 1640 thus marked the end of the feudal system, but to a certain extent compromised with feudal forms and institutions and left remnants of feudalism still in England—e.g., tithes, and lords of the manor.

Marxist theory has inspired and guided all the greatest leaders of the working class for more than two generations (Lenin, Stalin, Zetkin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Tom Mann and Jim Connolly, etc.). It explains the laws of human development and is the instrument for enabling man to become master of his destiny.

The working class fights for improvements here and now, the struggle for which strengthens its organisation and helps to educate it. The struggle for improvements of all kinds trains the working class in political understanding and develops its political party's ability and experience, fitting it for greater responsibilities. These struggles also attract to the support of the working class sections of the middle class whose interests are often identical in general with those of the working class.

It is in this practical way that the working class becomes capable of realising its aim. Its powerful organisation, its experience and efforts to improve its conditions inevitably bring improvements to wider sections of people—better national

education; a national health service; measures for dealing with unemployment; etc., etc.

The rise of fascism and its rapid development into a terrorist weapon against all progressive, democratic and anti-war principles brought increased responsibilities to the working class in all countries. Their powerful influence became the shield of genuine national traditions and culture, the weapon for defending the national independence of the peoples against Nazism and fascism. (The wealthy of Spain betrayed the country, bringing Moors, Germans and Italians into the country to overthrow the Republican Government. France sold out by the rich in 1940. Quisling elements in other countries.)

The present war sharply revealed the new responsibilities, the great new opportunities which this brings for the working class. National unity for victory depends on the workers; their increased production and solidarity have solved the most critical problems and provided the manpower and the weapons for triumph over the enemy of all humanity.

This is the pledge of what can be achieved in the post-war years. The working class, led by its Party, inspired and guided by the example of the Socialist Soviet Union, will lead the whole nation forward to a new and brighter order of things.

Success will be more rapid, more certain and all the greater by BUILDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY, EVERY MEMBER OF WHICH MUST BECOME A MARXIST, WORKING TO REALISE THE PROGRAMME OF THE PARTY.

LESSON 2

Principles of Marxist Economics

This subject is concerned with how peoples, organised socially, get their living: the provision of the necessities of life.

In this lesson we intend to consider the economics of capitalist society.

The profit motive is the mainspring of capitalist society. That is to say, things are grown or made for sale, at a profit for the capitalist owner.

exploitation. Science can work miracles with coal under public ownership and enterprise. Numerous important and valuable products as well as energy for industry can be obtained from it. We are only at the beginning of things in this respect.

Under private ownership great waste occurs in the mining and usage of coal.

(A steam locomotive uses effectively less than 10 per cent of the energy in the coal it consumes.)

Socialism will enormously increase the number of highly educated and trained people available for improved scientific and technical processes of production because it will make education and training open fully and freely to all with ability.

It will enable working hours to be shortened and transform working conditions, making them healthier and easier. The glorious heritage of British literature and the drama will be made freely available to everyone. All the arts will be encouraged and assisted by the State on behalf of society. A highly cultured life means a fuller life. In every way Socialism will be superior to capitalism, both economically and culturally.

The Joint Production Committees set up in the factories to help the war effort by bringing the knowledge and co-operation of the workers to bear on methods of increasing output are contrary to all ideas of capitalist management. They were a necessary war measure. Socialism will give full control and consultation to the workers in all sections of every industry, enabling the interests of the consumer to be combined with those of the producer—for these interests will be one and the same under Socialism.

The Abolition of Unemployment

The ability to plan and systematise production processes IN ACCORD WITH THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE (for capitalists can and do plan—in order to maintain or increase their own profits) which Socialism gives society will free us once and for all from the terrible blight of unemployment and economic insecurity, which production for private profit makes inevitable.

Public Enterprise will seek the permanent well-being of the people. Private Enterprise is only concerned with the interests of the privileged few.

Production to meet the needs of the people will mean an end to lack of employment. Obviously, in a society where

for realising the aim of Socialism; and (c) The superiority of the socialist economy compared with capitalism.

We stand for the ownership of the land and its industries and transport by the people, represented by the State. We also stand for the abolition of the control by profit-mongers and speculators of the produce of Britain's soil and its industries.

Production would then be organised to meet the needs of the people instead of for the profit of a few.

Socialist Britain would enable the economy of the country to be PLANNED.

For example: The great achievements in agriculture during the war years are due to planning and concentration. Much more can be achieved when the grip of the private landowner is broken and the land becomes the property of the people.

Or consider HOUSING: Here again Socialism enables plans to be made and carried through by the people to meet their wishes without deferring to the interests of private landlordism and the property owner who lives off rents.

(Bank interest alone on a loan of £500 for building a house, comes to 10s. weekly at 5 per cent.)

Freed from the control of private groupings who only seek their own interests, the MINES, TEXTILES, IRON AND STEEL, and similar great basic industries would be rid of a burden which retards their developments and their use in the best interests of the people of this country.

We must also note the highly important fact that the small minority of the population who own our great industries and the land have as a consequence tremendous political "pull" and influence against progressive plans and ideas.

Socialism would bring the resources of science fully to bear on the question of planning and organising the productive apparatus of the country effectively and efficiently.

Science has shown what can be done under State authority to solve all kinds of war problems; Socialism would harness Science even more effectively to help in solving problems arising in peace conditions (e.g., U.S.S.R.).

An outstanding example is that of coal, our greatest industrial asset. For centuries a few have been enriched by its

(Examples: Fish left to rot because profit not high enough; vegetables not gathered from fields for same reason in pre-war days. Factories making clothes, etc., shut down while people are unable to afford to buy sufficient for requirements.)

Capitalist society is organised on the basis of the private ownership by individuals of capital, including land, and the employment of labour to produce wealth which becomes also the property of the capitalist.

In capitalist society there are thus two classes with different and even antagonistic interests—the capitalist and the worker.

The capitalists not only buy the raw materials for their industries, they also BUY THE LABOUR POWER OF THE WORKERS.

Thus the ability of the worker (skilled or less skilled, industrial or clerical) is also bought and sold—bought by the capitalist for wages, and sold by the worker for wages.

Hence we see that capitalist production is characterised by the existence of the following conditions:

1. All the means of production, distribution and exchange (land, mines, railways, factories, machinery and equipment) are owned and controlled exclusively by a small section of society, the capitalist class.

2. The great majority of the people are without capital, have no means for producing anything themselves, and are compelled to sell their ability to work to the capitalist for a wage or salary.

3. The production of wealth is carried on for private gain.

4. The wealth produced takes the form of commodities (i.e., is produced to sell for a profit).

This control of the capital of the country gives the capitalists the power to make profit out of the labour-power they buy from the workers. In fact, unpaid labour-power is the source and origin of *all* profit.

How does the capitalist class do this?

Because labour-power is the only thing they can buy which costs less to maintain than the value it creates.

In an hour or two's work, the worker creates sufficient value to meet the cost of feeding and clothing himself and his family. The value he creates in the rest of the time he is at work goes to the capitalist. Marx called this portion of the value created by labour power "Surplus Value."

The growth of capitalism depended on the ability of in-

dividual capitalists to accumulate wealth to use in extending their plant, factories, etc. The concentration of wealth into the hands of a few people began with the high returns on trade with colonial peoples in the 16th and particularly the 17th centuries, and the grabbing of land by the "enclosures" of common land and the land of the smallholders during the same period and later.

As capitalism developed, it grew richer by the great profits made from terribly exploited labour. Capitalists do not grow wealthy by their individual "thrift," but through the surplus value which is created by labour-power, and which they retain for themselves after paying wages and meeting costs of maintenance, etc.

In the processes of production, the co-operation of all kinds of workers is necessary—miners hew coal, railway workers transport it, its heat enables steelworkers to produce bars, girders, billets, sheet steel, etc. Engineering workers and shipbuilding workers use these as part of the raw material for aircraft, motor-cars and shipping, etc., etc. One process of manufacture in the factory is completed and passed to another section for further work to be done on it; all processes have grown complicated and highly specialised, so that workers at the bench fit in with technicians, transport workers, clerical workers, and so on, to complete the finished product.

Thus wealth is socially created (by the co-operation of all kinds of workers whose jobs fit in with general processes) and privately owned.

Periodic glutts of goods, due to the inability of the people to buy what had been produced, led to crises occurring with unemployment, bankruptcies and economic loss. By the nineteenth twenties this state of affairs had become permanent; unemployment was widespread in every country, even the U.S.A. The struggle to overcome this problem, inherent in capitalist production, has been one of the root causes of wars for the past two generations—one national group of capitalists striving to eliminate its rivals of another nation from markets which both wish to exploit in order to solve the problems which the individual profit motive creates.

From being means of "collecting money revenues" in the form of a large number of small banking firms, the banks grew into a few powerful combines with a complete monopoly of the

money market, giving a huge increase in the power and grip over capitalist economy by banking capital. This led to a few very rich bankers becoming also influential industrialists. In fact, banking and industrial capital fused into one and the same thing, dominated by the same people. It was this situation, with the domination of monopoly, which Lenin characterised as *Imperialism*, and which he called the last and dying stage of capitalism.

The imperialist powers seek sources of raw material (cotton, metals, oil, etc.), supplies of cheap labour, countries in which to invest capital and in which certain types of capital goods can be marketed (e.g., railway equipment, machinery for manufacturing textiles, etc., etc.). Colonies meet these requirements. In addition, "spheres of influence" are marked out in less industrialised countries (China, South America, etc.).

Imperialism seeks to restrict the industrial development of colonial countries, and in its later and most highly developed expression (Nazism) attempts to seize even developed countries and exploit their resources to its own advantage.

These characteristics are the cause of continual and intense friction and rivalry between the imperialist powers and constitute the principal causes of modern wars.

Imperialism finalises the division of the world into spheres of capitalist influence and activity. It reaches out everywhere and affects even the most remote and backward lands. It represents the limit of capitalist development and the holding back of the march of human progress economically and culturally. This is why Lenin saw it as the last stage of capitalism, the stage in which the conditions necessary for realising Socialism are fully developed.

LESSON 3

Our Aim is Socialism

This lesson deals with the objects and aims of the Communist Party as set out in the Party Rules.

We will select for consideration the following main themes: (a) Public ownership and what it will enable us to achieve in Britain, and in co-operation with other peoples. (b) The method